

Message Text

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NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01 PRS-01

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C:WS

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S: IOTT ACDA/MEA:TJONES NS

PM/DCA:RPHELPS

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JCS:CWILMOT S/P:JKALICKI

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DISTO

E.O. 11652: DECONTROL 8/28/75

TAGS: PARM, CCD, US

SUBJECT: CCD - US CLOSING STATEMENT

FOLLOWING IS TEXT FOR US REPRESENTATIVE'S CLOSING STATEMENT
AT CCD. BEGIN TEXT:

1. MR. CHAIRMAN, AS THE CCD CONCLUDES ITS SUMMER SESSION,
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I THINK IT WOULD BE WORTHWHILE TO REVIEW BRIEFLY SOME OF
THE MORE SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS IN OUR WORK THIS YEAR.
BEFORE TURNING TO SPECIFICS, HOWEVER, I WOULD LIKE TO
OBSERVE GENERALLY THAT THE COMMITTEE IN 1975 HAS BEEN

MARKED BY A RENEWED ENERGY. THE INFUSION OF NEW MEMBERS AND NEW SUBJECTS HAS CLEARLY CONTRIBUTED TO THIS DEVELOPMENT, WHICH MY DELEGATION WELCOMES.

2. ONE OF THE NEW SUBJECTS ON WHICH PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IS THE QUESTION OF RESTRAINTS ON MILITARY ENVIRONMENTAL MODIFICATION ACTIVITIES. LAST WEEK THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION TABLED PARALLEL DRAFT CONVENTIONS ON THE PROHIBITION OF MILITARY OR ANY OTHER HOSTILE USE OF ENVIRONMENTAL MODIFICATION TECHNIQUES. IN OUR VIEW THIS ACTION REPRESENTS AN IMPORTANT STEP TOWARD EFFECTIVELY PRECLUDING THE DANGERS OF THE POTENTIAL USE OF SUCH TECHNIQUES AS METHODS OF WARFARE. EARLIER THIS MONTH, THE COMMITTEE'S INFORMAL MEETINGS WITH EXPERTS

ADDED SUBSTANTIALLY TO THE TECHNICAL INFORMATION NEEDED FOR OUR FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF THE SUBJECT. IN PARTICULAR, THE MEETINGS PROVIDED USEFUL INSIGHTS INTO THE STATE-OF-THE-ART OF ENVIRONMENTAL MODIFICATION. WE BELIEVE THE DRAFT CONVENTIONS, TOGETHER WITH THE VALUABLE BACKGROUND DEVELOPED IN THE INFORMAL MEETINGS, PROVIDE A SOLID BASIS FOR POSITIVE ACTION BY THE COMMITTEE IN THIS FIELD. WE LOOK FORWARD TO THE EARLY COMMENCEMENT OF NEGOTIATIONS AT OUR SPRING SESSION NEXT YEAR.

3. ALSO PROMINENT AMONG THE RESULTS OF THIS YEAR'S WORK IS THE STUDY OF NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE ZONES PREPARED BY THE GROUP OF EXPERTS UNDER CCD AUSPICES. I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS MY DELEGATION'S APPRECIATION TO THE EXPERTS WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE STUDY AND TO COMMEND THE CHAIRMAN, PROFESSOR KORHONEN OF FINLAND, FOR HIS EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP IN THE SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF THE TASK. WE ALSO OWE A DEBT OF GRATITUDE TO THE SECRETARIAT FOR THE INVALUABLE SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE IT PROVIDED TO THE EXPERTS. THE RESULT OF THE HARD WORK BY ALL CONCERNED IS INDEED A COMPREHENSIVE STUDY OF THE QUESTION OF NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE ZONES IN ALL OF ITS ASPECTS.

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4. WE HAVE NOTED COMMENTS ON THE EXPERTS' APPROACH OF ALLOWING THE INCLUSION OF DIFFERING VIEWS WHEREVER CONSENSUS WAS NOT REACHED. WE BELIEVE THIS PROCEDURE WAS NOT ONLY PROPER BUT ESSENTIAL IN ORDER TO ASSURE A THOROUGH EXPLORATION OF THE MANY COMPLEX ISSUES INVOLVED. IT IS IMPORTANT TO RECALL THAT A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF THE ISSUES THAT THE EXPERTS EXPLORED IN DETAIL EITHER HAD NEVER SURFACED BEFORE OR HAD BEEN ADDRESSED ONLY IN A GENERAL WAY. WE ARE PLEASED THAT THE EXPERTS ACHIEVED CONSENSUS ON A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT POINTS IN EACH SECTION OF THE STUDY. THE FACT THAT CONSENSUS WAS NOT REACHED ON OTHER ISSUES SHOULD NOT DETRACT FROM THE VALUE OF THE

STUDY. ON THE CONTRARY, THE PRESENTATION OF DIVERGENT VIEWS ON MANY DIFFICULT QUESTIONS, EVEN BY ANONYMOUS EXPERTS, CONTRIBUTES TO A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE ZONE CONCEPT, ITS FEASIBILITY, AND ITS POTENTIAL VALUE AS A MEANS OF PROMOTING NON-PROLIFERATION OBJECTIVES AND STRENGTHENING REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. WE BELIEVE THAT THE STUDY WILL BE USEFUL TO STATES CONSIDERING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE ZONE IN THEIR REGION AND TO OTHER INTERESTED STATES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

5. OUR SUMMER SESSION HAS ALSO SEEN CONSTRUCTIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN OTHER AREAS. AMONG THESE, THE COMMITTEE'S INFORMAL MEETINGS WITH EXPERTS ON THE ARMS CONTROL IMPLICATIONS OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES WERE PARTICULARLY SIGNIFICANT. THESE MEETINGS DID NOT, OF COURSE, PROVIDE ANSWERS TO ALL THE QUESTIONS INVOLVED, BUT THEY DID ALLOW US TO FOCUS ON THE BASIC PROBLEMS AND TO CLARIFY FURTHER A NUMBER OF CRITICAL ISSUES. WE CONSIDER ESPECIALLY NOTEWORTHY THE GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT, FROM A TECHNOLOGICAL POINT OF VIEW, IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO DEVELOP A NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE CAPABILITY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES WITHOUT IN THE PROCESS ACQUIRING A NUCLEAR WEAPON CAPABILITY. THE INFORMAL MEETINGS ALSO HELPED INCREASE AWARENESS OF THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED IF PNES WERE TO BE ACCOMMODATED UNDER A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN.

6. LAST MONTH MY DELEGATION PUT FORWARD THE SUGGESTION
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THAT THE CCD UNDERTAKE AN EFFORT TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN THE DEFINITION AND COMPARATIVE MEASUREMENT OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES. WE NOTED THAT SUCCESS IN THIS EFFORT WOULD CONSTITUTE A SIGNIFICANT FORWARD STEP IN BRINGING ABOUT CONDITIONS THAT WOULD PERMIT SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF INTERNATIONAL MEASURES FOR LIMITING SUCH EXPENDITURES. WE ALSO NOTED THAT SUCH A STUDY WOULD CONFORM TO THE STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH SUGGESTED BY THE GROUP OF CONSULTANT EXPERTS TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL IN THEIR REPORT ON THE REDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS.

7. WE HAVE BEEN GRATIFIED BY EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT FOR THIS APPROACH BY THE DELEGATIONS OF SWEDEN, THE NETHERLANDS, AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY. REFLECTING ON COMMENTS MADE BY THOSE DELEGATIONS, WE AGREE WITH THE VIEW THAT AN EFFORT TO RESOLVE THE IMPORTANT ISSUES INVOLVED COULD BEST BE UNDERTAKEN BY A GROUP OF EXPERTS UNDER THE COMMITTEE'S AUSPICES. IT SEEMS TO US THAT A GROUP OF QUALIFIED EXPERTS -- PREFERABLY A SMALL NUMBER OF ECONOMISTS OR BUDGET SPECIALISTS ABLE TO DEVOTE AS MUCH TIME AS NECESSARY TO AN INTENSIVE STUDY

OF THE ISSUES -- COULD CONTRIBUTE SIGNIFICANTLY TO A COMMON UNDERSTANDING IN THIS COMPLEX AREA.

8. IN OUR VIEW THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY COULD GIVE IMPETUS AND DIRECTION TO SUCH A STUDY BY ADOPTING A GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE RESOLUTION ON THE SUBJECT AT ITS SESSION THIS FALL. THE RESOLUTION SHOULD, AMONG OTHER THINGS, TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE REPLIES OF GOVERNMENTS TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REQUEST FOR VIEWS CONCERNING THE 1974 EXPERTS' REPORT ON THE REDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS. MY GOVERNMENT WILL GIVE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO THOSE REPLIES;

WE LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH OTHER DELEGATIONS AT THE ASSEMBLY IN DEVELOPING AN APPROPRIATE RESOLUTION.

9. MR. CHAIRMAN, MY DELEGATION CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT THE CCD CAN MAKE AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION IN THE FIELD OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS RESTRAINTS. OUR INTEREST IN GIVING SERIOUS ATTENTION TO THIS SUBJECT WAS REFLECTED IN THE U.S. PRESENTATION AT THE END OF THE SPRING SESSION.

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WE REGRET THAT DURING THIS SESSION THERE HAS BEEN SO LITTLE DISCUSSION CONCERNING THAT PRESENTATION, ALTHOUGH COMMENTS BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND SWEDEN HAVE PROVIDED A STARTING POINT FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION. FOR EXAMPLE, CONCERN WAS EXPRESSED OVER THE IMPLICATIONS FOR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY OF ONE OF THE ILLUSTRATIVE PRINCIPLES WE SUGGESTED IN OUR PRESENTATION -- THE PRINCIPLE CONCERNING CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN A STATE ACQUIRING ARMS AND OTHER INTERESTED STATES THAT MIGHT CONSIDER SUCH AN ACQUISITION AS ADVERSELY AFFECTING THEIR SECURITY. IT WOULD NOT BE THE INTENTION OF SUCH A PRINCIPLE TO GIVE OUTSIDE STATES A BASIS TO INTERFERE IN A PARTICULAR STATE'S DECISIONS REGARDING ITS SECURITY REQUIREMENTS, WHICH ARE INDEED A FUNDAMENTAL MATTER OF NATIONAL POLICY. RATHER, WE BELIEVE THAT CONSULTATIONS ALONG THE LINES SUGGESTED IN THIS PRINCIPLE COULD HELP REDUCE UNCERTAINTIES AND SUSPICIONS REGARDING ARMS ACQUISITIONS AND THEREBY CREATE MORE FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR MUTUAL SELF-RESTRAINT BY THE STATES PARTICIPATING IN SUCH CONSULTATIONS.

10. MR. CHAIRMAN, DURING THE COURSE OF OUR MEETINGS THIS YEAR, A NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS HAVE EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE SLOW PACE OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CCD REGARDING CHEMICAL WEAPONS. FOR OUR PART, WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT THE COMMITTEE'S EFFORTS IN THIS FIELD HAVE NOT BEEN IN VAIN. DISCUSSIONS OF VARIOUS COMPLEX TECHNICAL FACTORS HAVE MADE, AND CONTINUE TO MAKE, SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE RESOLUTION OF CW ISSUES. FOR EXAMPLE, THIS SUMMER

SEVERAL DELEGATIONS -- THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, SWEDEN, AND JAPAN-- HAVE PRESENTED WORKING PAPERS CONTRIBUTING IMPORTANT INFORMATION RELATED TO THE QUESTION OF DEFINITION OF PROHIBITED AGENTS.

11. IN OUR VIEW, ONE PARTICULARLY SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT OVER THE PAST YEAR HAS BEEN THE INCREASING ACCEPTANCE OF THE IDEA THAT A PHASED APPROACH TO CW LIMITATIONS MAY WELL BE THE MOST REALISTIC ONE. A KEY CONSIDERATION IN ESTABLISHING THE EXTENT OF AN INITIAL PROHIBITION IS THE NATURE OF AGENTS IN NATIONAL ARSENALS. PROPOSALS HAVE

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BEEN MADE TO DEAL INITIALLY ONLY WITH SUPERTOXIC AGENTS. OTHER PROPOSALS ENVISION COVERAGE OF ALL LETHAL AGENTS. THERE ARE ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF EACH OF THESE APPROACHES.

12. ON BALANCE, HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT AN INITIAL PROHIBITION SHOULD DEAL WITH ALL LETHAL AGENTS. RESTRICTING COVERAGE TO SUPERTOXIC AGENTS WOULD NOT EQUALLY CONSTRAIN ALL COUNTRIES HAVING CW STOCKS IF, IN ADDITION TO SUPERTOXIC AGENTS, SOME OF THESE COUNTRIES POSSESSED LETHAL AGENTS NOT USUALLY CONSIDERED SUPERTOXIC, SUCH AS HYDROGEN CYANIDE. FURTHERMORE, IT IS IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER THAT IN SOME REGIONS THE POSSESSION OF LESS TOXIC AGENTS MAY REPRESENT A GREATER THREAT THAN SUPERTOXIC AGENTS TO THE COUNTRIES IN THE REGION.

13. ON ANOTHER MAJOR CW ISSUE, MY DELEGATION HAS NOTED WITH PARTICULAR INTEREST THE WORKING PAPER SUBMITTED BY FINLAND. THE PAPER REPORTS THE EFFORT UNDERWAY BY THE FINNISH GOVERNMENT TO DEVELOP A CW VERIFICATION CAPABILITY FOR POSSIBLE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL USE. WE CONSIDER THIS EFFORT TO BE AN ESPECIALLY VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION IN A CRITICAL AREA OF CHEMICAL ARMS CONTROL, AND LOOK FORWARD TO FURTHER REPORTS ON ITS PROGRESS.

14. MR. CHAIRMAN, I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS MY DELEGATION'S FIRM BELIEF THAT THE RESULTS OF OUR WORK THIS YEAR HAVE AMPLY DEMONSTRATED THE CONTINUING VITALITY OF THE CCD. WE LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY THIS FALL IN ORDER TO SET THE STAGE FURTHER FOR WHAT PROMISES TO BE AN ACTIVE AND, LET US ALL HOPE, PRODUCTIVE SESSION IN 1976.
END TEXT. INGERSOLL

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